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F. ENGELS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

(Speech on the 40th anniversary of the death of F. Engels)

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SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Engels in the Struggle for Revolutionary Marxism

Speech on the Fortieth Anniversary of the death of Friedrich Engels, delivered at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, August 5, 1936

By

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ENGELS AND HIS ROLE IN THE CREATION OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

FORTY YEARS AGO occurred the death of Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's closest comrade-in-arms, one of the greatest revolutionary thinkers in human history, organizer and leader of the international proletarian party. The names of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels will forever remain in the memories of the peoples as the names of two great geniuses, of the creators of scientific socialism and the founders of the international Communist movement.

The revolutionary activities of Engels are inseparably bound up with the life and activities of Marx.

Forty years ago Lenin wrote:

> "Ancient legends tell of various touching examples of friendship. The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters whose relations surpass all the most touching tales of the ancients concerning human friendship." *

The fortieth anniversary of the death of Engels which we are commemorating today coincides with the change that has occurred in the world labor movement, with the turn—caused by the influence of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the very profound crisis of capitalism—which the broad masses of the Social-Democratic and non-party workers have taken towards Communism, and with the accelerated collapse of the Second International.

The victory of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. and the growth of the Communist movement all over the world are the direct result of the fact that the Bolshevik Party, the international

* Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, p. 40. International Publishers, New York.

Party of Lenin and Stalin, has remained loyal to the end to the teachings of Marx and Engels.

The collapse of the Second International, the defeat and bankruptcy of its parties, are the historically inevitable consequences of their desertion from the doctrines of Marx and Engels, of their vulgarization and distortion of Marxism. Millions of toilers—gripped in the vise of the crisis, hanging on the gallows, incarcerated in fascist jails and lying in the trenches of the imperialist wars that are flaring up—are now paying dearly for this desertion.

The opportunists of all colors, of the Second International—Bernstein, Cunow, Kautsky, Vendervelde and others like them—accused Engels of all mortal sins and opposed Marx and Engels in their effort to "refute" both, their real object being to extract the revolutionary spirit from Marxism. It was not an accident, it was inevitable, and absolutely in keeping with the laws of development, that the revisionists in the Second International, who first fought precisely against Engels on all the fundamental questions of theory and practice, passed to the position of cooperation with the bourgeoisie and gradually slipped into the mire of reaction.

From the very outset of his revolutionary activities Engels, together with Marx, waged a fight to lay the foundations of and to develop scientific socialism *in the sphere of economics and the social sciences, in the sphere of philosophy and natural sciences;* he waged a struggle to permeate the minds of the proletarian masses with revolutionary Marxism as widely as possible.

In the struggle against the German "true socialists", those sentimental "high priests of human justice and right", those pompous prophets of "class peace" and "peace among the peoples" in capitalist society, those pseudo-pacifists and supine humanitarians, Engels imbued the proletarian masses with ruthless hatred for the class enemy, called for the complete rupture with him and his ideological lackeys, the priests, the lawyers and the parliamentarians.

Engels fought furiously against the Lassalleans, the "royal Prussian socialists" who licked the jackboots of Bismarck, and their "state superstition", their idealistic prejudices and loud talk about "general human rights", and their "iron law of wages" which denied the necessity of independent economic struggle and independent industrial organization of the working class. Upholding and popularizing Marx's political economy and emphasizing the inseparable connection that exists between the economic and political struggle of the proletariat, Engels exposed the reformist nature of Lasselleanism, its adaptation to the Junker-bourgeois state, its betrayal of the proletarian revolution.

In opposition to Proudhonism and Bakuninism, these two petty-bourgeois reactionary, utopian, anarchist trends in the labor movement, which for the mass revolutionary struggle substituted sonorous phrases about "mutual aid by means of peaceful co-operation", "the equality of classes", "the destruction of all states", Engels urged the necessity of a political party of the proletariat, of a political struggle for the dictatorship of the working class.

In the struggle against all pseudo-Socialist and pseudo-revolutionary theories, Engels, on the basis of Marx's analysis of the economic relationships of bourgeois society, proved the inevitability of the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the world historical role of the proletariat as the grave-digger of capitalism and the creator of the new socialist system. Together with Marx, Engels proved that the class struggle must lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat as the state of the transition period from capitalism to communism, that without the leadership of its own independent political party the proletariat cannot achieve victory in this struggle.

Engels combined a genuinely scientific analysis that penetrated the very "core" of historical phenomena, of economic and political processes, with the burning passion of a leader and teacher of the proletariat who called upon the masses of the workers

to enter the revolutionary struggle. Scientific socialism illuminates the whole past, present and future of human society, it shows the proletariat what the exploited and enslaved classes were before it, what it is itself, and what it must become. Hence, Engels taught the workers: act in accordance with this revolutionary theory, fight for the proletarian dictatorship, and your emancipation will mean the emancipation of all humanity, the end of all exploitation, oppression and violence!

This idea of the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary action runs like a red thread through all Engels' scientific works, through all his polemical articles and his party directives.

In the sphere of political economy Engels formulated the inevitable law of all exploiting societies, that:

> "All progress in production is simultaneously regression in the position of the oppressed class, *i.e.*, of the overwhelming majority. All good for some is simultaneously evil for others; every new emancipation of one class means the new enslavement of other classes." *

This inherent contradiction of exploiting society finds most striking expression under capitalism. The living vehicle of this contradiction is the proletariat, the class that is bereft of all means of production, and is, therefore, the most revolutionary class among all the exploited classes that history has ever known. Engels said:

> "By more and more transforming the great majority of the population into proletarians, the capitalist mode of production brings into being the force which, under penalty of its own destruction, is compelled to carry out this revolution."**

In one of his earliest works Engels depicts the conditions of the working class under capitalism in a manner that is amazing for its stern veracity. Over ninety years have passed since that work was written. Read this description to any worker in any capitalist country; he will see himself and the fate to which capitalism dooms him as if reflected in a mirror.

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* Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Chapter IX.
** Engels, *Herr Eugen Duehring's Revolution in Science (Anti-Duehring)*, p. 314. International Publishers, New York.

"When one individual inflicts bodily injury upon another, such injury that death results, we call the deed manslaughter; when the assailant knew in advance that the injury would be fatal, we call this deed murder. But when society places hundreds of proletarians in such a position that they inevitably meet a too early and an unnatural death, one which is quite as much a death by violence as that by the sword or bullet; when it deprives thousands of the necessaries of life, places them under conditions in which they *cannot* live—forces them, through the strong arm of the law, to remain in such conditions until that death ensues which is the inevitable consequence—knows that these thousands of victims must perish, and yet permits these conditions to remain, its deed is murder just as surely as the deed of the single individual; disguised, malicious murder, murder against which none can defend himself, which does not seem what it is, because no man sees the murderer, because the death of the victim seems a natural one. . . ." *

Under capitalism, tools, machines and the land confront the worker as an alien and hostile force. The supreme manifestation of this antagonism is the periodical crises which shake the exploiting system to its foundations and reveal to the ruling classes their inability to govern with the aid of the forces which they themselves called into being, forces which rage like blind elements over the whole of mankind, devastate flourishing countries, towns and villages and doom millions of people to degeneration.

Engels showed that the development of the proletariat, whose conditions of life impel it towards the social revolution, and the development of the productive forces, which have outgrown the framework of capitalist society, must inevitably burst this framework, must lead to the social revolution.

In this connection Marx and Engels advanced the "immediate ultimate aim" of overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the core of Marxism.

In the struggle for revolutionary Marxism, Engels with the utmost clarity worked out the problem of the interaction between

* Engels, *Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844*, Chap. V.

economics and politics throughout the history of social development; and on this basis he worked out the problem of the nature of the state of the exploiting classes. In a brilliant sketch he also depicted the general contours of socialist construction.

Engels' profound analysis embracing the whole of so-called "civilization", *i.e.*, of the history of the exploiting classes and their states, leads to the conclusion that the disappearance of classes and of the state is as necessary historically as have been their rise and development up till now. Engels wrote:

> "We are now rapidly approaching the stage of development of production in which the existence of classes has not only ceased to be necessary, but has actually become a hindrance to production." *

We know what a furious howl, what frenzy and rage this proposition of Marxism that classes and the state must inevitably disappear called forth and still calls forth among all the paid advocates of the bourgeois system and bourgeois property, and how idiotically all the Bernsteins and Kautskys, who regard the slightly varnished and slightly reformed bourgeois state as the highest achievement of human progress, have failed to understand it.

In his struggle against the Social-Democratic opportunists and against the anarchists, Engels *put in the forefront the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat* and, in particular, the question of the radical difference between the exploiters' state and the proletarian state. The revolutionary Marxian doctrine of the state and revolution and, in particular, Engels' remarkable sketches on the question of proletarian democracy as opposed to bourgeois democracy, have been brilliantly developed in the works of Lenin and Stalin.

What irrefutable confirmation of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninst doctrine of the state as the organ of the exploiting classes for the purpose of keeping the exploited classes in subjection is obtained precisely at the present time, in the midst of the advance of reaction and fascism in the capitalist

* Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Chapter IX.

countries! How shamefully the lying tales of the Social-Democratic philistines about the state "expressing the common interests of the people", conciliating the interests of antagonistic classes, and standing above those classes, have been scattered to the winds! And what confirmation is obtained today, particularly in fascist countries, of what Engels said about the state being the armed forces: the police, the army, the prisons and the courts. The fascist *landknechts* of finance capital, the Gestapo, Hitler's and Goering's defense corps, the fascist dungeons, the concentration camps and the scaffold—all these reveal the very nature of the exploiters' state, which has thrown off the tinsel of bourgeois democracy, which is trampling upon the last remnants of the democratic rights and liberties won by the toilers by long years of sanguinary struggle. And in the face of these inexorable facts, what will those say today who, debasing and distorting Marxism, repudiated the path of the proletarian revolution, and, in conjunction with Noske and Severing, defended the bourgeois state against the attacks of the revolutionary masses?

Opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, Marx and Engels fought all their lives for the creation of a party that could lead the masses to the seizure of power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. After the Paris Commune all Engels' utterances on the question of the immediate and urgent tasks of the proletariat in the socialist revolution were directed towards one point, *viz.*, to utilize the experience of the Paris Commune, which was to lie at the basis of the program of the new mass parties of the proletariat. Not long before his death, on the twentieth anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels wrote:

> "Of late the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words *dictatorship of the proletariat*. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat." *

* Engels' "Introduction" to *The Civil War in France*, p. 19. International Publishers, New York.

The Bolshevik Party alone, as far back as 1903, included the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat in its program. After quoting what Marx and Engels had said on the experience of the Paris Commune, Lenin, in 1917, wrote:

> "In revising the program of our Party the advice of Engels and Marx absolutely must be taken into consideration in order to come nearer to the truth, to re-establish Marxism, to purge it of distortions, to direct more correctly the struggle of the working class for its liberation." *

The Bolsheviks alone, led by Lenin and Stalin, supplementing the rich experience of the Paris Commune with the experience of two Russian revolutions, put forward the creation of a state of the "Commune type" as the immediate aim of the proletarian revolution, and succeeded in leading vast masses of the proletariat and of the poorest peasants towards breaking up the bourgeois state and establishing the proletarian dictatorship in the *form of soviets.*

Engels said that the class struggle of the proletariat would assume its widest dimensions when the proletariat captured power and, by means of its dictatorship, set to work radically to remold all productive relationships.

Today, on one-sixth of the globe, in irreconcilable revolutionary struggle, in the great laboratory of socialist labor and thought, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, creative Marxism has been day after day assuming its world historical dimensions. The victorious proletariat is making the epoch in which Engels said:

> "The proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialized means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialized character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialized production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible."**

* Lenin: *State and Revolution*, p. 55. International Publishers, New York.
** Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, pp. 74-75. International Publishers, New York.

The Bolsheviks have done that. They have expropriated the capitalists and landlords, removed the shackles of capital from material productive forces and from the greatest creative force in history, the proletariat, and in place of capitalist anarchy established the socialist plan.

Engels wrote:

> "The appropriation by society of the means of production will put an end not only to the artificial restraints on production which exist today, but also to the positive waste and destruction of productive forces and products which is now the inevitable accompaniment of production and reaches its zenith in crises. Further, it sets free for society as a whole a mass of means of production and products by putting an end to the senseless luxury and extravagance of the present ruling class and its political representatives."*

The Bolsheviks have done that. As a result of the socialist reconstruction of national economy, crises and unemployment have been abolished forever in the land of the victorious proletariat; the exploiting, parasitic classes have been liquidated and there is no place for the senseless waste of products. The socialist system has undivided sway in the country.

Engels spoke of a system of organization of production under which no one will be able to throw on the shoulders of others his share in productive labor and in which, on the other hand, productive labor, instead of being a means to the subjection of men, will become a means to their emancipation.**

The Bolsheviks have done that. Instead of a curse, as it was under capitalism, labor in the land of socialism has become a matter of honor, glory and heroism; in the great school of socialist competition new forms of collective labor are arising.

The Bolsheviks are putting into practice the brilliant sketches of Marx and Engels on the necessity of abolishing the antithesis between town and country, on the planned distribution of the productive forces, of creating the prerequisites for the all-

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* Engels, *Herr Eugen Duehring's Revolution in Science (Anti-Duehring)*, p. 317. International Publishers, New York.
** *Ibid.*, pp. 328-29.

sided, mental and physical development of men and women. But the Party and non-Party Bolsheviks are putting these amazingly prophetic sketches into practice concretely, enriching them with the creative ideas of the most brilliant minds of modern times, of Lenin and Stalin—and they are filling them with the living experience of the revolutionary experience of the masses.

Engels said that those whose mission it will be to raze exploiting society to the ground and to erect classless, socialist society will possess exceptional power of theoretical foresight and iron will.

It was our Party, the Party of the Bolsheviks led by Lenin and Stalin, that Engels with his penetrating eye saw through the veil of the ensuing decades! He spoke of those millions who have built socialism in the land of the proletarian dictatorship.

It signifies the entry in the historical arena of those who will achieve the great goal outlined by Marx and Engels all over the globe.

II

ENGELS AS LEADER OF THE PROLETARIAT AND MASTER OF PROLETARIAN TACTICS

ENGELS WAS not only the great theoretician of the proletariat. Like Marx, he was primarily a *revolutionary*. As was the case with Marx, Engels' real element was first of all the *struggle*—the persistent, consistent and passionate struggle for Communism.

The first half of the 'forties. Young Engels spreads his wings. He abandons the Christian-Prussian philistine environment and beats a path for himself towards proletarian socialism. He meets Marx, with whom he concludes a fighting alliance—the great bond of union between the two geniuses of proletarian Communism. Together they organize and lead the Communist League; together they draw up the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the first program document of international Communism.

The revolution of 1848. Engels is one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in which, in conjunction with Marx, he supports the extreme Left wing of Democracy, ruthlessly exposing its vacillations, and championing the special interests of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution.

The 'sixties. The first international proletarian party—the *First International*—takes shape, and in its work Engels, in conjunction with Marx, takes a most active part. In the First International the doctrine of Marx and Engels secures decisive victory over all its opponents.

The Paris Commune ushers in a new epoch in the history of mankind. New tasks arise; the transition to the creation in separate countries of mass proletarian parties, on the development of which Engels exercises decisive influence.

As far back as 1846, Engels, then only twenty-six years of age, formulated the tasks of the Communists with astonishing distinctness:

"(1) To achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie; (2) To do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods; (3) To recognize no means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force." *

Many years later Engels said:

"We want the destruction of classes. What are the means of securing this? The political domination of the proletariat. . . . But the highest act of politics is revolution. Those who recognize this must strive towards such means and political actions as will prepare the revolution, such as educate the workers for revolution, and without which the workers will always be tricked by the Favres** and Pyats*** the day after the battle. The policy which should be followed is a workers' policy. A party must be formed not as an appendage to some bourgeois parties, but as an independent party with its own aim, its own policy." ****

And it was to these aims that Engels devoted his half century of struggle.

Engels' distinguishing traits as a politician of the working class were distinctly formulated by Lenin as follows:

". . . A most profound understanding of the fundamental revolutionary aims of the proletariat, and an unusually flexible definition of a given problem of tactics, from the point of view of these revolutionary aims, and without the slightest concession to opportunism and revolutionary phraseology." *****

I now want to deal in detail with Engels as the *master of proletarian tactics*. Our Parties, the leaders of our Sections, can

* *The Correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, p. 2. International Publishers, New York.
** Jules Favre, French bourgeois republican lawyer, became a minister after September 4, 1870; Thiers' right hand in suppressing the Paris Commune.
*** Felix Pyat, French petty-bourgeois radical.
**** From Engels' speech at the London Conference of the First International. See *The Communist International*, No. 21, Nov., 1934, p. 812.
***** Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, pp. 44-45. International Publishers, New York.

learn something from the brilliant examples of the art of tactics given by the great proletarian captain.

Of the rich treasury of tactical propositions which Engels worked out and applied in the course of his practical activities I will deal with only a few which directly concern *the central task of the Seventh Congress, viz.*, the task of preparing and organizing the working class and all the toilers for the decisive battles.

There were not a few people in Engels' time, and there are not a few today, who conceive of the proletarian revolution *not dialectically, but mechanically.* They argue that the class conscious, consistent, "pure" revolutionaries were in one camp, while the other camp was one reactionary mass: that there can be no changes in the relations of class forces, for all classes have once and for all adopted their prescribed positions in the revolutionary scheme; there are no vacillating intermediate strata, for all have been entered beforehand in the category of reaction; there is no vanguard and reserves, for all represent one revolutionary mass; there are no masses who are only just approaching revolution, for all have been, beforehand, included in the camp of the revolutionary vanguard; there are no stages in the development of the revolutionary struggle, for in some enigmatic way, the masses have been transferred to the supreme class "of the last and decisive battle"; the revolutionary party need not carry on everyday work to enlighten and prepare the masses for the struggle, for the masses are only waiting for the signal to rush into battle under the leadership of the arch-revolutionary leaders; organizational preparation for the purpose of accelerating the growth of the movement is superfluous, they say, because the spontaneity of the movement itself is working in our favor. This is the type of people Engels had in mind when he ridiculed the following scheme of development of the revolution:

> "All the official parties united in one lump *here*, all the Socialists in one column *there*—great decisive battle. Victory all along the line at one blow. In real life things do not happen so simply. In real life . . . the revolution begins the other way round, by the

great majority of the people and also of the official parties massing themselves together *against* the government, which is thereby isolated, and overthrowing it; and it is only after those of the official parties whose existence is still possible have mutually and successfully accomplished one another's destruction that the great division takes place and with it the prospect of our rule. If . . . we wanted to start straight off with the *final* act of the revolution, we should be in a miserably bad way." *

This brilliant proposition of Engels on the progress and development of the revolution was still more strikingly and fully developed by Lenin more than thirty years later. He wrote:

"To imagine that social revolution is *conceivable* without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without the revolutionary outbursts of a section of the petty bourgeoisie *with all its prejudices*, without the movement of non-class-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against the oppression of the landlords, the church, the monarchy, the foreign nations, etc.—to imagine that means *repudiating social revolution*. Only those who imagine that in one place an army will line up and say, 'We are for socialism', and in another place another army will say, 'We are for imperialism', and that this will be the social revolution . . .

"Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will *never* live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is." **

Further on he says:

"The socialist revolution in Europe *cannot be anything else* than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry of the oppressed and discontented elements. Sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will inevitably participate in it—without such participation, *mass* struggle is *impossible*, without it *no* revolution is possible—and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But *objectively* they will attack *capital*, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a heterogeneous and discordant, motley and outwardly incohesive, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, to capture power, to seize the banks,

* *The Correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, p. 401. International Publishers, New York.
** Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 303. International Publishers, New York.

to expropriate the trusts (hated by all, though for different reasons) and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means immediately 'purge' itself of petty bourgeois slag." *

These remarkably profound words of Engels and Lenin contain the fundamental elements of the reply to the question of how we today can successfully fight against the offensive of capital, of fascism and the menace of war. They indicate the necessity of the proletarian party having a correct policy towards the masses of its own class and towards its allies and they indicate the task of creating a broad people's front of struggle, the need for and the ability to take advantage of international antagonisms for the purpose of strengthening the position of the proletariat. All our experience have more than once confirmed the fact that the party which starts out with vulgarized and naive conceptions of revolution is *incapable* of playing the part of organizer and leader of the revolution. There is nothing more dangerous for a live and fighting party than a readymade, invented and lifeless formula, for it conceals all the living and motley variety of the conditions and forms of struggle.

It is wrong to think that the revolution will develop along a straight line like the flight of an arrow, that no hitches or interruptions, and retreats for the purpose of leaping further forward will occur in the maturing revolutionary process. It is wrong to think that the tactics of the revolutionary party should be based not on the relation of class forces that exist, but on relations as we would like them to be. It is wrong to think that in the process of preparing for revolution as well as in the process of its development it is sufficient for the proletarian party to rely entirely upon the forces of the vanguard and that there is no need to rely on the majority of the working class. It is wrong to think that by ignoring other class forces and by refraining from trying to win over the vacillating classes to the side of the revolution, at least temporarily, the proletarian party

* *Ibid.*, p. 304.

can create the clear situation of "class against class". It is wrong to think that it is possible to prepare for the *revolution* and to bring it about without taking advantage of the antagonisms within the camp of the *enemy*, without temporary, partial compromises with other classes and groups which are becoming revolutionary, and their political organizations.

In 1889, in a letter to the Danish Socialist Trier, Engels recommends that other parties be utilized in the interests of the working class, that,

> ". . . Other parties and measures should be temporarily supported which are either of direct advantage to the proletariat, or which represent a step forward in the direction of economic development or of political liberty. . . ."
>
> "But," Engels adds, "I am in favor of this only if *the advantage accruing directly for us, or for the historical development of the country along the path of economic and political revolution, is unquestionable and is worth-while striving after.* Another obligatory condition is that the proletarian class character of the Party shall not thereby be brought into question. That for me is the absolute limit." * (My italics—*D.Z.M.*)

Strengthening the class character of the party, raising the class consciousness of the proletariat, raising its fighting capacity, strengthening its positions, weakening the position of the class enemy—such are the criteria which Engels regarded as essential in deciding the question of whether this or that compromise was permissible.

These tactics are profoundly hostile to the policy of class co-operation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie pursued by international Social-Democracy, for that policy robbed the party of its class character, it strengthened the position of the bourgeoisie and weakened and demoralized the proletariat. These revolutionary tactics have nothing in common with the policy of the "lesser evil", with voting for Hindenburg, with forming a *bloc* with Bruening; for, in pursuing the policy of the "lesser evil", Social-Democracy surrendered to the bourgeoisie one pro-

* *Bolshevik*, No. 21, 1932, p. 84.

letarian position after the other, it paved the way for fascism, and prepared for the defeat of the proletariat.

Thirty years later, Lenin enlarged on this idea of Engels on the basis of the experience of the three Russian revolutions, and taught the young Communist Parties flexible and mobile tactics that would enable them to overcome their "Left-wing" sickness and to take up the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in a really Bolshevik manner. He wrote:

> "To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, which is a hundred times more difficult, prolonged and complicated than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to refuse beforehand to maneuver, to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporize and compromise with possible (even though transient, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies—is not this ridiculous in the extreme? . . . It is possible to conquer this most powerful enemy only by exerting our efforts to the utmost and by *necessarily*, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully taking advantage of every 'fissure', however small, in the ranks of our enemies, of every antagonism of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries, among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie in the various countries; by taking advantage of every opportunity, however small, of gaining an ally among the masses, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this do not understand even a grain of Marxism and of scientific modern socialism *in general*." *

Comrades, if you ponder over these words of Engels and Lenin as applied to our epoch, to the policy which our Congress is now indicating for the ensuing period, you will understand that these tactics, tested by the experience of the whole of the world labor movement during many decades, now create for the Communist International, for all its Sections, great opportunities for emerging out of the agitational-propaganda period of our development and for becoming mighty factors in the whole of contemporary political life in the various countries

* Lenin, *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, p 52. International Publishers, New York.

and throughout the world. But it is precisely because we are now entering the broad road of great *mass policy*, because we are preparing to count, not in hundreds of thousands, but in millions, because we are beginning to bring under our influence those strata which only yesterday were in the ranks of Social-Democracy, or else were outside of politics altogether, because of this, the Sections of the Comintern must be particularly alert to possible Right and opportunist distortions of our mass policy, distortions which will retard the growth of our influence among the masses and the growth of the fighting capacity of the proletariat, and thereby retard the maturing of the conditions for the proletarian revolution. And here we must once again turn to our teacher Engels and recall the struggle he waged against opportunism, the ruthless, untameable struggle to which he devoted half a century of his life as a political fighter.

Engels saw right through the petty bourgeois who in scores of different disguises tried to entrench himself in the labor movement, weakening it and disorganizing it. With unerring aim and inimitable sarcasm, Marx and Engels tore the mask from the face of this philistine; they exposed the philistine grimaces beneath the mask of free and easy geniality. This philistine has the right to commit any despicable act because he considers himself to be "honestly" despicable. Engels wrote:

> "Even stupidity becomes a virtue because it is the irrefutable evidence of firmness of conviction. Every hidden motive is supported by the conviction of intrinsic honesty, and the more determinedly he plots some kind of deception or petty meanness, the more simple and frank does he appear to be."

This philistine is a

> ". . . drainpipe in which all the contradictions of philosophy, democracy and every description of phrasemongering are mixed up in a monstrous manner." *

While upholding revolutionary Marxism, Engels fiercely at-

* *Marx and Engels Archive*, Book V, p. 329.

tacked German reformists, the French Possibilists, the British Fabians and the Ultra-Lefts. At the same time, with exceptional firmness and patience, he criticized and corrected the opportunist mistakes of the leaders of the proletarian parties such as Wilhelm Liebknecht and Bebel, Lafargue and Guesde.

This tireless struggle against opportunism, and particularly against conciliation with opportunism, caused some of the leaders whom he attacked to dub Engels "the rudest man in Europe". All of us should learn from Engels how to be passionately "rude" in the interests of the party, in the interests of the revolution.

No one was so eager to unite the vanguard of the working class in the ranks of a united workers' party as Engels was. He wanted to do that as much as we want to do it today. But he knew and saw that unity not based on principles would weaken the working class. Of what use would a mass party be for the proletariat if it served as a lasso, dragging it into cooperation with the bourgeoisie? In 1882 he welcomed the split in the workers' party in France from Mallone and Bruse who had abandoned the class struggle, had sacrificed the proletarian class character of the movement and had made a rupture inevitable.

> "All the better," he said. "Unity is an excellent thing *as long as it is possible, but there are things that are more important than unity.*"

I think it is necessary to recall these words of Engels precisely at the present time when here at this Congress we are holding aloft the banner of the political unity of the international working class.

Through the medium of Comrade Dimitroff's report, the Congress has very strongly emphasized its will to fight for a united workers' party in every country, for a united workers' world party. But such a party can be created only on the basis of *unity of principles* and not on the basis of a putrid *bloc* between petty-bourgeois and proletarian elements after the model of the Second International. We would remind the thousands, tens and

hundreds of thousands of Social-Democratic workers who regard themselves as followers and disciples of Marx and Engels that we and they would be committing a crime against our class if we re-created that fictitious "unity" which led to the catastrophe of August 4, 1914, to the bloc between a section of the working class and the bourgeoisie, and which, in the last analysis, facilitated the victory of fascism. *The working class does not need unity of this kind!* We want the unity for which our teacher Friedrich Engels fought all his life; we shall exert every effort to achieve this unity, and we shall achieve it.

But this unity can be achieved only by a party which by its increasing activities wins the confidence of the masses, by a party which overcomes schematism and vulgarization in its approach to the mass movement. It is for *such* a party that Engels fought. He ruthlessly scourged passivity and inactivity as among the most pernicious forms of opportunism. In his correspondence with the workers' leaders he tirelessly repeated: the Party must *act* under all circumstances. It must participate in the whole of the political life of the country and take advantage of every event in home and foreign politics for active intervention; it must be with the masses everywhere and always, at the opportune moment it must issue *real fighting slogans* that shall emanate from the masses themselves, and it must issue new ones as the movement grows. This is the main tactical rule for the proletarian party upon which Engels insisted.

The party which exists in the close and narrow circle of its immediate supporters, which stands *outside* of the things with which the people are concerned, which cannot clutch at the things that are exciting the masses at the given moment, which is unable to generalize the complaints and desires of the people in distinct, intelligible slogans, such a party cannot take the lead of mass movements.

Engels was particularly sharp in his attacks upon those who failed to be on the spot at decisive moments of the mass struggle. In this connection Engels quite openly said that the party which

misses such a decisive moment, which fails to intervene, will be dead and buried for some time.

Often, in practice, passivity and inactivity, masked by "Left" phrases, is concealed by *playing at conspiracies,* playing at exclusive underground organizations and degenerates into *Carbonarism,* which is alien to the spirit of the workers' party. On the other hand, parliamentary cretinism, adaptation to bourgeois legality at all costs, denying the significance of illegal forms of organization, and fear of violence also paralyze the fighting capacity of the working class.

Engels fought against the manifestations of both forms of passivity. He taught the proletarian parties to take every possible advantage of bourgeois legality for the purpose of gathering the forces of the working class, of preparing them for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and thereby transforming bourgeois legality into a weapon of the struggle against the bourgeoisie. He exposed the Bakunin-Blanquist conspiracy tactics, which the international police utilized against the workers' organizations, and urged the need for particular vigilance in regard to spies and provocateurs who penetrated the workers' organizations. At the same time he spared no blows against those Social-Democrats who, toadying to the government, declared that the workers' party was not a party of revolutionary violence.

> "To attack violence," he wrote in indignation, "as something which is impermissible in itself, when we know that, in the final analysis, we shall achieve nothing without violence . . ." *

Engels insisted that proletarian revolutionaries must be able to utilize *all forms* of struggle against the class enemy. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin the Bolshevik Party applied these tenets of Engels in the course of twenty-five years of enormous experience in combining legal with illegal forms of work which, as is known, lay at the basis of the organizational decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

* *Marx and Engels Archive,* Vol. I (VI), p. 78.

Have our Sections made the utmost use of these tenets? *No, they have not.* Many comrades are convinced that under the fascist terror there is no room for "legal" footholds, for open manifestations of the labor movement, for developing a broad mass struggle. But fascism is *compelled* to create a mass basis, to create its mass organizations, to resort to social demagogy. Hence, it is the duty of the Communists to penetrate the mass fascist organizations, to turn the fascist social demagogy against the fascist dictatorship and thus to undermine the mass basis of fascism. It will be impossible to force our way to the masses under these conditions unless we carry on daily and systematic work in the fascist mass organizations and unless we combine legal with illegal methods of work.

At the same time it is wrong to think that we do not need illegal organizations in those countries where the labor movement is legal. Victimization by employers in all countries compels us to establish secret nuclei in the factories illegally. The growth of the menace of fascism compels the "legal" Communist Parties to adopt measures in preparation for the possible transition to an illegal position in order to avoid repeating the mistake committed by the Italian and German Communist Parties. We must remember that the united front movement spontaneously "legalizes" the most hunted and persecuted Communist Parties, that the mass struggle brings the most deeply underground organizations to the surface.

One of the varieties of the schematism and vulgarization against which Engels fought is the *mechanical application of fundamental, tactical propositions without taking into consideration the specific conditions prevailing in each separate country.*

We are the world party of the proletariat, the party built on the basis of genuine political and organizational unity, a party which sums up and generalizes the whole experience of the world labor movement, a party which pursues genuinely *international* tactics based on the unity of interests of the international proletariat. But these international tactics do not preclude variations created by the specific features of development of individual

countries. The internationalization of the experience of the world labor movement does not mean making *stereotypes* equally applicable to the labor movement in all countries. Those who think that it is sufficient to have a few ready-made formulæ in one's pocket to apply to the whole world labor movement, do not internationalize the labor movement, but freeze it and hinder its development.

Engels was a classic example of the genuine international leader who knew to perfection the secret of properly combining the international character of our Communist movement with the ability to take into account its specific national features. He was closely connected with the German labor movement; he was excellently informed of all the details of the French labor movement; from 1844 onwards he took a most active part in the struggles of the British proletariat; he made a deep study of the American labor movement (he himself traveled across the ocean); he was exceptionally well informed about the conditions and progress of the proletarian struggle in Italy and in the Pyrenees; he was greatly interested in the revolutionary movement in Russia, the West Slav and the South Slav countries.

It is precisely this profound knowledge of the conditions in separate countries that enabled Engels properly to lead the workers' parties in these countries, and to be a genuine leader and organizer of the proletarian International.

> "The emancipation of the Italian peasant," he wrote to Bovio, "will not take place in the form in which the emancipation of the English factory workers will be brought about; but the more both utilize the forms corresponding to their respective conditions, the more will things correspond to the substance of the matter."

Such are Engels' main tactical tenets in the light of our great epoch, in the light of the tasks that confront our Congress.

Engels taught us, in defining our tactics, to approach the vital revolutionary processes in the lives of the peoples not with cut-and-dried schemes, not with ready-made scales, but on the basis of a profound study of the disposition of class forces in every

single country at every given moment. He taught us to take into consideration the position of each separate class, of each of its groups, to study the sum total of all class *antagonisms* and methods by which the proletariat may take advantage of them, and unfailingly to bear in mind the international situation as a whole.

Engels taught us to be a fighting, active party, both when the tide of the labor movement is in flood and when it is temporarily at ebb, and to be able to find that special question which deeply concerns the masses and enables the Party to extend and strengthen its contacts with the working class and all other toilers. He taught us to join a movement not only after it has started, but to prepare it, to organize it and, by winning the confidence of the masses, to lead it. He urged us to respond to every event that excites the masses, to develop great movements into decisive battles and thereby transform the Party into a force that will gain prestige among all the toilers and increase their confidence in their own strength.

Engels taught us not to become conceited at the moment of victory and not to lose heart at the moment of temporary defeat. He taught us not to be afraid to start from the beginning if we are defeated, but to start with the firm conviction that we must achieve victory at the second attempt.

Engels taught us to pursue *a mass policy* that corresponds to the vital interests of the broadest masses of the toilers, that helps to rally the masses of the peasants and the toilers in the towns around the proletariat. In the present situation this means, first of all, the establishment of a people's front against fascism in capitalist countries, and a front of the peoples against war in the international arena.

Engels taught us to make a sober estimate of the situation, not to rush ahead before the masses have been drawn into the movement, but at the same time not to drag at the tail of these masses; not to adapt our tactics to the most backward sections of them; to be able by means of determined and rapid action to sweep these masses forward, consolidate every success of the movement

and take that success as the starting point for fresh successes.

Engels taught us to fight for every inch of ground won by the working class, to take advantage of every antagonism in the camp of the enemy, never to sacrifice the class character of the Party and the aim of strengthening the proletariat, to be in all the organizations in which the masses of the workers are to be found, and to utilize illegal and legal forms of struggle, which, in the present conditions, means strengthening the illegal organizations by extending their legal influence among the masses and extending this influence by strengthening the illegal organizations.

We are living and fighting in an incomparably more complicated situation than that which existed in Engels' time. But Engels' rich tactical legacy still retains its significance in this new situation. The Communists will utilize this legacy for a long time to come yet, and they will apply the tenets of Engels in a Bolshevik manner.

Does this mean that these tenets are *sufficient* for the purpose of determining our tactics? Of course not. Owing to historical conditions, Engels, like Marx, was unable, and did not create a complete science of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary proletariat. But at the basis of this science created by the genius of Lenin and Stalin lie the remarkable ideas of strategy and tactics which the great founders of Communism had developed and applied to the utmost extent they were able to.

III

WE CONTINUE THE WORK OF ENGELS

WE COMMUNISTS are the continuers of Engels' work.

The great and invincible strength of the revolutionary doctrines he and Marx created lies in that it *lives and develops* together with the fighting proletariat, that it is becoming *enriched* with its new experiences and *sharpened* in the struggle against its enemies.

The leaders of the Second International proved incapable of developing Marxism further. They did not accept it as the doctrine of Marx and Engels, as a guide to the revolutionary action of the proletariat, as the doctrine of the necessity of preparing the masses for the violent overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie, for the abolition of classes in general. Some of the leaders of the Second International revised Marxism, "supplemented" it with the assertion that the development of capitalism is not accompanied by the intensification of class antagonisms, but, on the contrary, by their diminution. Others, while admitting the correctness of the fundamental propositions of Marxism in words, transformed these propositions into a dogma which justified conciliation with the realities of capitalism, justified support of reformist practices. These people called themselves Marxists; but they mutilated Marxism, vulgarized and extracted from it its revolutionary substance. In this way the theory and practice of the Second International more and more reproduced all the vulgar, petty-bourgeois wisdom against which Engels fought all his life. The leaders and ideologists of the Second International are not the continuers of the work of Engels, but of the work of his enemies.

Engels departed from us in the middle of the 'nineties. This was exactly the time when Lenin—whose name has become a

guiding star for the whole of the international proletariat—started his revolutionary work.

Marx and Engels lived, worked and fought in the pre-monopolist epoch of capitalism, when, in the main, the development of bourgeois society was proceeding in an ascending line, in the epoch of national wars and the consummation of the bourgeois revolutions in Western Europe, in the epoch when England still possessed world commercial and industrial supremacy and when the German proletariat was still the vanguard of the world proletariat, in the epoch when the labor movement was only just taking shape as an independent political movement and when proletarian parties were only just being formed. That epoch provided Marx and Engels with all the necessary elements with which to arm the proletariat with the mighty weapon of revolutionary theory.

But Marx and Engels never claimed to forecast the exact route of the proletarian revolution, they never prescribed precise tactical rules for it, or claimed to have answers for problems that were insoluble in the conditions of their epoch.

Engels, who had devoted brilliant pages to the development of socialism from utopia to a science, more than once poured ridicule on those who, departing from the soil of science, tried to say wise things about the "architectonics of future society". More than once he wrote that he calmly left this to the "people of future society who at all events will not be more stupid than we are".

Concerning Marx's critique of capitalism Engels wrote that "the results of this critique also contain the *embryo* of so-called solutions, insofar as the latter are at all possible at the present time". This, of course, also applies entirely to Engels' own works. And these brilliant ideas, sketches, embryo, which the pedants and philistines of the Second International overlooked in their blindness, were further developed and transformed into a harmonious doctrine by the great Bolsheviks Lenin and Stalin.

Lenin did not regard Marxism is a dogma, but as a guide to revolutionary action. As far back as the end of the last century,

in connection with the fight around the question of the Party program, Lenin wrote:

> "We do not in the least regard Marxist theory as something complete and inviolable, on the contrary, we are convinced that it only laid the corner-stone of the science which the Socialists must advance further in all directions if they do not want to lag behind life."

The gigantic growth of capitalist monopolies was already foretold in *Capital*. In Engels' last works (for example in the sketch of his work on the Stock Exchange), attempts are already made to characterize a number of new phenomena in the economics of capitalism. But Engels died before he was able to bring out the specific features of the imperialist stage of capitalism that was already being ushered in in the 'nineties.

Monopoly, decaying capitalism; the unprecedented intensification of all capitalist contradictions; the general crisis of capitalism, the starting point of which was the World War in 1914-18, and the victory of the October Revolution, which ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind; socialist construction and the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R.—these are the *new* factors which Engels was not and could not have been aware of, these are the *new* factors which the Marxist had to generalize theoretically and thereby arm the revolutionary proletariat for its future struggle.

In his interview with the American workers' delegation, Stalin, in a few pages, gave a condensed characterization of the contribution which Lenin made to the treasury of Marxism. These few condensed pages ought to be read and re-read, they are equivalent to many volumes. In them Stalin gives a resumé of the content of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxism: the analysis of imperialism as the last phase of capitalism; the further development of the core of Marxism, *i.e.*, the doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship; the development of the question of the forms and methods of socialist construction in the period of the proletarian dictatorship; the creation of a harmonious

system of the hegemony of the proletariat; the development of the national-colonial question as the question of the reserves of the proletarian revolution; the creation of the doctrine of the Party.

To Lenin belongs the merit of having defined the position of the Communists in imperialist wars, a position which he recorded in the slogan—*transform the imperialist war into civil war*. And this must be all the more emphasized for the reason that attempts have been made to make it appear that the founder of this slogan was Engels. This is not true, comrades, Engels rendered too many services to the world labor movement to make it necessary to ascribe to him what he never said. Engels did not live in the epoch of imperialism; he had to lay down the positions of international socialism principally in regard to national wars. Had the Bolsheviks approached the works of Engels of the 'nineties in a dogmatic manner they would not have been able to develop the Marxian position on the question of imperialist wars in the way Lenin did. Lenin, and Lenin alone, gave what was the new in principle and the only correct line on the question of the character of imperialist war, as well as on the question of the position the proletariat should adopt towards it. And it is precisely because we honor the memory of our great teacher Engels that we are opposed to his being transformed into an icon, that we are opposed to hushing up or glossing over, historical truth.

Lenin's work, which raised Marxism to a new stage, is being continued in all directions by Stalin. In the works, speeches and all the activities of Stalin and of the international Bolshevik Party which he leads, the Marxist-Leninist theory of which Engels was one of the founders, lives, grows and is enriched.

Stalin developed Marxism in one of the fundamental questions of our epoch, in the question of *building socialism in a single country*. The Bolsheviks did not clutch at Engels' old formulae which were suitable for a different stage, left behind long ago. Under the leadership of Stalin they utterly routed the Trotskyists and Zinovievists who tried to utilize these formulae

against the proletarian revolution. Lenin showed that with uneven, spasmodic, capitalist development under the conditions of imperialism, the victory of socialism was possible in a single country. Stalin developed and upheld this theory and put it into practice.

At the Fifteenth Conference of the C.P.S.U. Stalin said:

> "What Engels in the 'forties of the last century, under the conditions of pre-monopolist capitalism, regarded as impracticable and impossible in a single country, became practicable and possible in our country under the conditions of imperialism. Of course, had Engels been alive today he would not have clung to the old formula. On the contrary, he would have greeted our revolution wholeheartedly and would have said: 'To hell with the old formula, long live the victorious revolution in the U.S.S.R.'"

Neither in the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, nor in the works of Engels, nor in Lenin's *State and Revolution* were the concrete problems of the first phase of Communism raised which Stalin raised and solved with the greatest boldness and profundity.

We began to build socialism in a poverty-stricken and ruined country which had inherited from the bourgeoisie a low technical economic level, in a country surrounded by capitalist states. Moreover, we began to build socialism *for the first time in the history of mankind.*

And Stalin, developing further the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, creatively put it into living practice; for the first time he concretely drew up a single and profoundly-thought-out plan for the socialist offensive in our country; he worked out the problem of socialist industrialization as a condition of victory for socialism in the U.S.S.R.; he worked out the problem of collective farming as the road to the socialist reformation of the peasantry under proletarian leadership; he worked out the problem of the stages and methods of abolishing the capitalist elements (from the policy of restricting these elements to the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class); he worked out

the problem of the organization of labor under the conditions of socialist construction and in the struggle against petty-bourgeois equilitarianism; he worked out the problem of the conditions for and ways of abolishing the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men and of building a new, socialist culture. Stalin showed that building socialism meant, first of all, strengthening the proletarian dictatorship; and that strengthening the proletarian dictatorship, and successes in socialist construction, cause proletarian democracy to come out in full bloom. And the Bolsheviks, led by Stalin, transformed all these theoretical propositions of Stalin into flesh and blood.

Such works and speeches of Stalin as his reports at Party Congresses, as his speech at the Conference of Marxian Agrarians, as his famous *Six Conditions*, as his new collective farm rules, as the changes in the Soviet Constitution he has proposed, as well as his speech on the new people who have mastered technique—in short, every pronouncement Stalin makes is not only a landmark on the road of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., it is also a landmark in the enrichment and deepening of Marxist-Leninist theory. These works are the material from which the advanced workers of all countries have been and are acquiring their knowledge.

Stalin gives an example of the policy of the proletarian state which is building classless socialist society under the conditions of capitalist encirclement. Stalin works out the principles of the policy of the world proletarian party—the Communist International—amidst the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism and the struggle between two systems, *i.e.*, capitalism and socialism. Basing himself on the experience of the Chinese Revolution, Stalin worked out the problem of the concrete paths by which the national revolutionary movements grow into the Soviet revolution. *Stalin raised the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin concerning the transition period from capitalism to socialism to a new stage.*

Lenin and Stalin did not confine themselves to certain sketches of Marx and Engels on problems of strategy and tactics. In his

Foundations of Leninism, the handbook of proletarian revolutionaries all over the world, Stalin wrote that only:

> ". . . In the period of direct action by the proletariat, in the period of the proletarian revolution, when the question of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie became a question of immediate practice, when the question of the reserves of the proletariat (strategy), became one of the most burning questions, when all forms of struggle and of organization, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary (tactics), assumed definite shape—only in this period could a complete strategy and detailed tactics for the struggle of the proletariat be elaborated." *

The merit of Lenin and Stalin lies in that they did not confine themselves to restoring certain tactical propositions of Marx and Engels, but developed them further and created the strategy and tactics of Leninism—the complete science of the leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

* * *

Forty years have passed since the death of Friedrich Engels. What an enormously long path the world labor movement, the whole of mankind, has traversed during these years. In place of the old tsarist despotism we have the great country that is building socialism. The old Chinese Wall is collapsing; the four hundred million population of China has been set in motion. The banner of the Soviet revolution is flying over six provinces of China inhabited by a hundred million people. Influenced by the successes of socialism in the U.S.S.R., a powerful movement towards socialism is going on among the toilers all over the capitalist world. The bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries are devastating whole countries and cities, are re-opening the medieval dungeons for the enslaved peoples, are sowing a storm of hatred and anger among all the oppressed. The First International of Marx and Engels no longer exists and the Second International is crumbling like a piece of rotten fabric. But the men of labor are more and more closely rallying around the Third,

* Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 73, International Publishers, New York.

Communist, International, *the International of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, the International of victorious socialism in the U.S.S.R., the International of the world proletarian revolution.*

> "I think," wrote Engels in 1874, "that the next International—after Marx's writings have had some years of influence—will be *directly Communist and will openly proclaim our principles.*"* (My italics—D.Z.M.)

This Communist International is represented in this hall. It embraces over three score of countries, it has millions of adherents who are under the influence of the Communist Parties among all nations and races in all parts of the globe. The doctrine of Marx and Engels rules unchallenged over one-sixth of the globe, backed by a powerful state, by a socialist economy with wealth amounting to billions; it is backed by a country with a hundred and seventy million population. In all countries this doctrine is breaking the chains of the slaves in order that it may embrace the whole world.

Armed with this doctrine, the Communists, in spite of terror, torture and persecution, are organizing and rallying the proletarians, the toilers, the colonial slaves for the struggle, and are leading them to victory. The Communist International has become mankind's guiding star and anchor of salvation from poverty, fascism and war.

Long live the Communist International, the great invincible Party of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

* *The Correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, p. 330, International Publishers, New York.